

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

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LETTER FROM FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

REPLY TO MR. C. C. THOMPSON.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

DEAR FRIEND:—For the sake of our righteous cause, I was delighted to see by an extract copied into the Liberator of 12th Dec., 1845, from the Delaware Republican, that Mr. A. C. Thompson, No. 101, Market street, Wilmington, has undertaken to invalidate my testimony against the slaveholders, whose names I have made prominent in the narrative of my experience while in slavery. Slaveholders and slave-traders never betray greater indiscretion, than when they venture to defend themselves, or their system of plunder, in any other community than a slaveholding one. Slavery has its own standard of morality, humanity, justice, and Christianity. Tried by that standard, it is a system of the greatest kindness to the slave—sanctioned by the purest morality—in perfect agreement with justice—and, of course, not inconsistent with Christianity. But, tried by any other, it is doomed to condemnation. The naked relation of master and slave is one of those monsters of darkness, to whom the light of truth is death! The wise ones among the slaveholders know this, and they studiously avoid doing anything, which, in their judgment, tends to elicit truth. They seem fully to understand, that their safety is in their silence. They may have learned this wisdom from Junius, who counselled his opponent, Sir William Draper, when defending Lord Granby, never to attract attention to a character, which would only pass without condemnation, when it passed without observation.

I am now almost too far away to answer this attempted refutation by Mr. Thompson. I fear his article will be forgotten, before you get my reply. I, however, think the whole thing worth reviving, as it is seldom we have so good a case for dissection. In any country but the United States, I might hope to get a hearing through the paper in which I was attacked. But this would be inconsistent with American usage and magnanimity. It would be folly to expect such a hearing. They might possibly advertise me as a runaway slave, and share the reward of my apprehension; but on no other condition would they allow my reply a place in their columns.

In this, however, I may judge the "Republican" harshly. It may be that, having admitted Mr. Thompson's article, the editor will think it but fair—negro though I am—to allow my reply an insertion.

In replying to Mr. Thompson, I shall proceed as I usually do in preaching the slaveholder's sermon,—dividing the subject under two general heads, as follows:—

1st. The statement of Mr. Thompson, in confirmation of the truth of my narrative.

2ndly. His denials of its truthfulness.

Under the first, I beg Mr. Thompson to accept my thanks for his full, free and unsolicited testimony, in regard to my identity. There now need be no doubt on that point, however much there might have been before. Your testimony, Mr. Thompson, has settled the question forever. I give you the fullest credit for the deed, saying nothing of the motive. But for you, sir, the pro-slavery people in the North might have persisted, with some show of reason, in representing me as being an impostor—a free negro, who had never been south of Mason & Dixon's line—one whom the abolitionists, acting on the jesuitical principle, that the end justifies the means, had educated and sent forth to attract attention to their faltering cause. I am greatly indebted to you, sir, for silencing those truly prejudicial insinuations. I wish I could make you understand the amount of service you have done. You have completely tripped up the heels of your pro-slavery friends, and laid them flat at my feet. You have done a piece of anti-slavery work, which no anti-slavery man could do. Our cautious and truth-loving people of New England would never have believed this testimony, in proof of my identity, had it been borne by an abolitionist. Not that they really think an abolitionist capable of bearing false witness intentionally; but such persons are thought fanatical, and to look at everything through a distorted medium. They will believe you—they will believe a slaveholder. They have, some how or other, imbibed (and I confess strangely enough) the idea that persons such as yourself are dispassionate, im-

partial and disinterested, and therefore capable of giving a fair representation of things connected with slavery. Now, under these circumstances, your testimony is of the utmost importance. It will serve to give effect to my exposures of slavery, both at home and abroad. I hope I shall not administer to your vanity when I tell you that you seem to have been raised up for this purpose! I came to this land with the highest testimonials from some of the most intelligent and distinguished abolitionists in the United States; yet some here have entertained and expressed doubt as to whether I have ever been a slave. You may easily imagine the perplexing and embarrassing nature of my situation, and how anxious I must have been to be relieved from it. You, sir, have relieved me. I now stand before both the American and British public, endorsed by you as being just what I have ever represented myself to be—to wit, an American slave.

You say, "I knew this recreant slave by the name of Frederick Bailey" (instead of Douglass.) Yes, that was my name; and leaving out the term recreant, which savors a little of bitterness, your testimony is direct and perfect—just what I have long wanted. But you are not yet satisfied. You seem determined to bear the most ample testimony in my favor. You say you knew me when I lived with Mr. Covey. "And with most of the persons" mentioned in my narrative, "you are intimately acquainted." This is excellent. Then Mr. Edward Covey is not a creature of my imagination, but really did and may yet exist.

You thus brush away the miserable insinuation of my northern pro-slavery enemies, that I have used fictitious not real names. You say—"Col. Lloyd was a wealthy planter. Mr. Gore was once an overseer for Col. Lloyd, but is now living near St. Michael's, is respected, and [you] believe he is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Thomas Auld is an honorable and worthy member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and all that can be said of him is, that he is a good Christian," &c., &c. Do allow me, once more, to thank you for this triumphant vindication of the truth of my statements; and to show you how highly I value your testimony. I will inform you that I am now publishing a second edition of my narrative in this country, having already disposed of the first. I will insert your article with my reply as an appendix, to the edition now in progress. If you find any fault with my frequent thanks, you may find some excuse for me in the fact, that I have serious fears that you will be but poorly thanked by those whose characters you have felt it your duty to defend. I am almost certain they will regard you as running before you were sent, and as having spoken when you should have been silent. Under these trying circumstances, it is evidently the duty of those interested in your welfare to extend to you such words of consolation as may ease, if not remove, the pain of your sad disappointment! But enough of this.

Now, then, to the second part—or your denials. You are confident I did not write the book; and the reason of your confidence is, that when you knew me, I was an unlearned and rather an ordinary negro. Well, I have to admit I was rather an ordinary negro when you knew me, and I do not claim to be a very extraordinary one now. But you knew me under very unfavorable circumstances. It was when I lived with Mr. Covey, the negro-breaker, and member of the Methodist Church. I had just been living with Master Thomas Auld, where I had been reduced by hunger. Master Thomas did not allow me enough to eat. Well, when I lived with Mr. Covey, I was driven so hard, and whipped so often, that my soul was crushed and my spirits broken. I was a mere wreck. The degradation to which I was then subjected, as I now look back to it, seems more like a dream than a horrible reality. I can scarcely realize how I ever passed through it, without quite losing all my moral and intellectual energies. I can easily understand that you sincerely doubt if I wrote the narrative; for if any one had told me, seven years ago, I should ever be able to write such an one, I should have doubted as strongly as you now do. You must not judge me now by what I then was—a change of circumstances has made a surprising change in me. Frederick Douglass, the free man, is a very different person from Frederick Bailey, the slave. I feel myself almost a new man—freedom has given me new life. I fancy you would scarcely know me. I think I have altered very much in my general appearance, and know I have in my manners. You remember when I used to meet you on the road to St. Michael's, or near Mr. Covey's lane gate, I hardly dared to lift my head, and look up at you. If I should meet you now, amid the free hills of old Scotland, where the ancient "black Douglass" once met his foes, I presume I might summon sufficient fortitude to look you full in the face; and were you to attempt to make a slave of me, it is possible you might find me almost as disagreeable a subject, as was the Douglass to whom I have just referred. Of one thing, I am certain—you would see a great change in me!

I trust I have now explained away your reason for thinking I did not write the narrative in question. You next deny the existence of such cruelty in Maryland as I reveal in my narrative; and ask, with true marvellous simplicity, "could it be possible that charitable, feeling men could murder human beings with as little remorse as the narrative of this infamous libeller would make us believe; and that the laws of Maryland, which operate alike upon black and white, bond and free, could permit such foul murders to pass unnoticed?"—"No," you say "it is impossible." I am not to determine what charitable, feeling men can do; but, to show what Maryland slaveholders actually do, their charitable feeling is to be determined by their deeds, and not their words by their charitable feelings. The cow-skid makes as deep a gash in my flesh, when wielded by a professed saint, as it does when wielded by an open sinner. The deadly noose does as fatal execution when its trigger is pulled by Austin Gore, the Christian, as when the same is done by Beal Bondly, the infidel. The best way to ascertain what those charitable, feeling men can do, will be to point you to the laws made by them, and which you say operate alike upon the white and the black, the bond and the free. By consulting the statute laws of Maryland, you will find the following:—"Any slave for running in the night, or riding horses in the day time without leave, or running away, may be punished by whipping, cropping, branding in the cheek, or otherwise—not rendering him unfit for labor."—p. 337.—"Any slave convicted of petty treason, murder, or wilful burning of dwelling-houses, may be sentenced to have the right hand cut off, to be hanged in the usual way—his head severed from his body—the body divided into four quarters, and the head and quarters set up in the most public place where such act was committed."—p. 190.

Now, Mr. Thompson, when you consider with what ease a slave may be convicted of any one or all of these crimes, how bloody and atrocious do those laws appear! Yet, sir, they are but the breath of those pious and charitable, feeling men, whom you would defend. I am sure I have recorded in my narrative, nothing so revoltingly cruel, murderous, infernal, as may be found in your own statute book.

You say that the laws of Maryland operate alike upon the white and black, the bond and free. If you mean by this, that the parties named are all equally protected by law, you perpetrate a falsehood as big as that told by President Polk, in his inaugural address. It is a notorious fact, even on this side of the Atlantic, that a black man cannot testify against a white man in any Court in Maryland, or any other slave State. If you do not know this, you are more than ordinarily ignorant, and are to be pitied rather than censured. I will not say "that the detection of this falsehood proves all you have said to be false" for I wish to avail myself of your testimony, in regard to my identity, but I will say, you have made yourself very liable to suspicion.

I will close these remarks by saying your positive opposition to slavery is fully explained, and will be well understood by anti-slavery men, when you say the evil of the system does not fall upon the slave but the slaveholder. This is like saying that the evil of being burnt is not felt by the person burnt, but by him who kindles up the fire about him.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.
Perth, (Scotland,) 27th Jan. 1846.

THE UNIVERSALISTS.

The following Protest is the one adopted by the general convention of Universalists in September last, and which was directed to be circulated among the clergy of that denomination for signatures.

PROTEST.

It is not from an idle curiosity, but from a deep interest in the signs and promises of better days, that we desire to know how stands the ministry of the Universalist church, in reference to the great question of American Slavery. The measure hereby adopted, is one that promises such a result, as the request is preferred to every minister of the Universalist denomination in the United States, with brotherly affection and true respect. We wish, moreover, to know from whom we can expect hearty fellowship and co-operation in our prayers, our pleas, and our labors, to advance the cause of Human Freedom, and to whom we can look for sympathy in our abhorrence and detestation of that system which destroys, as far as man has power to destroy the grand distinction between mankind and brutes, and which holds in perpetual bondage three and a half millions of our fellow creatures. We believe that by presenting a united front, we can add something to the moral power that is creating a deep horror at the monstrous wrong of Slavery, and that shall gather strength and greatness till human nature cannot withstand the majesty of the demand to "let the oppressed go free," but shall glorify God by loyalty to Right and Duty. With this desire, hope and trust, we offer our Protest against American Slavery, in the following reasons:

1. Because it denies the eternal distinction between a man and property, ranking a human being with a material thing. The attributes of the soul forbid such a classification; for that alone can be recognized as property which is not wronged by the act of being owned by another. To man was originally given dominion over the lower order of animals that he might hold them as property, but he has no right nor grant to own his fellow being.

2. Because Slavery does not award to the laborer the fruits of his toil, in any higher sense than to cattle. All the claim to any property—even to the fruits of the tillage of the smallest plot of ground—depends on the will of him who claims it by the same tenure, both the soil and the laborer. Man was created to own, and not to be owned; the claim of another upon the fruits of his toil as upon the product of the service of a mere animal, overlooks the higher nature and the absolute rights of a human being.

3. Because Slavery trammels the intellectual powers and prevents their expansion. The expansibility of the human mind is one of its chief glories, and endless means are appropriated to it by its Creator. To labor systematically to dwarf the intellect, is to prevent the opening to a full vision, of the eye that God made, wherewith man should see him in the manifestations of himself through his laws. This Slavery does. It denies to the slave even the alphabet of knowledge, the simplest elements of intellectual progress.

The very enactment of laws which forbid, under heavy penalties, any one to teach the slave to read and write, implies all that we claim for his intellectual capacity, and manifestly declares that the maintenance of the system depends upon dwarfing the intellect.

4. Because Slavery checks the development of the moral nature of the slave. It denies him rights, and thereby denies him responsibility. With the denial of his manhood, necessarily goes his accountability; for where the distinction between persons and things is lost, the duties and responsibilities of the person are merged and lost in the thing. The slave is, to all the intents and purposes, property, deprived of his moral nature, and thereby of his participation in a common humanity.

5. Because Slavery involves a practical denial of the religious nature of the slave. The supreme will, to the slave, is the will of the master; and that which dwarfs the intellect, and checks the development of the moral nature, must be opposed to religious growth. It takes from the victim the means which God has furnished to beget and foster a true and filial reverence towards Himself, and gives him no religion but credulity. It shuts up the Bible from the slave as effectually as ever Popery did from the people in the dark days of its terrific power.

6. Because Slavery presents an insurmountable barrier to the propagation of the great truth of the Universal Brotherhood, and thereby most effectually prevents the progress of true Christianity. Under its broad shadow, Universalism cannot grow. The seed is at best, sown among thorns that check its vegetation. Under the legitimate influences of such a system, the soul cannot regard with favor the religion which has the same voice and tone, the same commands and warnings, the same hopes and promises, for him who is regarded as a thing and classed with cattle, as for the most elevated and gifted of the human race. And inasmuch as Slavery denies the inequality that exists, by the attributes of human nature, between man and man, it cannot but frown on the religion of Christ, which is based on that equality, and whose great and fundamental principle of morality is "do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you."

7. Because the essential nature of Slavery cannot be altered by any kindness, how great soever, practiced towards the slave. Kindness is but flowers in the links of the chain whose iron eats into the soul, and no sweetness can lull the moral sense into forgetfulness of what slavery is. The highest kindness is comparatively nothing, while the manhood of the slave is denied or forgotten; for the first demand of love is, to respect the rights of another. While many slaveholders in sympathy with their conception of things, practice the utmost kindness to their slaves, that cannot alter one feature of deformity in the system of Slavery.

8. Because the long continuance of a system of wrong cannot palliate it, but on the other hand augments the demand for its abolition. New victims are ushered into existence every day, while the natural affections and the sanctities of marriage and domestic life are disregarded and made subordinate to the interests of property.

9. Because while we would in all charity remember that peculiarities of situation may affect the judgment and moral sense, still we must not forget, that no peculiarity of situation can excuse a perpetual denial of universal principles and obligations. Freedom is not the gift of charters and communities; it is not a benefit bestowed by geographical localities, but it is inherent in man as man, by the attributes of his nature. Our religion demands of us, with a voice that cannot be silenced, that no limit of territory shall be permitted to exclude man from our sympathy, and no conventional laws shall supersede the eternal requisitions of justice and mercy.

American Slavery is a system of Wrongs, from its first principle to its crowning assumption; and in its train of evils are found all the iniquities that have eaten out the life of communities and nations. It legalizes sins that are abhorrent to the simplest moral sense; and in the increasing intelligence and philanthropy of the present age, it becomes more and more a stigma on our National Name, a curse to our country's prosperity, and a giant moral evil that must be overthrown, or it will overthrow us by the retributive justice of Him who has declared the truth—"Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

For these reasons we protest against the system of American Slavery as utterly wrong, and confess our obligation to use all justifiable means to promote its Abolition.

If a man is happy and contented in slavery, he knows not the feelings of a man.

From the Independent Democrat.

GOVERNOR MORTON AND SOUTHERN SENATORS.

If ever there was a time when every man of the North was called upon to rouse himself, and speak out on the great question of Slavery, and the rapid augmentation of the slave power in the Union, now is the moment. To the shame of every son of the pilgrims, be it spoken, to the eternal infamy of the base pimps of corruption who have prostrated themselves and the Government beneath the iron car of Slavery there are men now at Washington, plotting with might and main, to procure the rejection of Democrats from office by Southern Senators, on the sole ground of their former opposition to Slavery. There are scores of men from New England, may, from New Hampshire, the whole burden of whose song against certain appointments of the President, is their former abolition sentiments.

Now, so far as the officers are concerned, we care not whether they are filled by this man or that. We care as little for the *ins* as the *outs*. Unprincipled partisanship rather than honest integrity, have, as usual, formed the chief recommendations. But we do think it time for every friend of liberty and independence to pause and tremble for his country, when, as now, it is openly proclaimed at the seat of Government, that no man can hold office, with the advice of the Senate, who has ever, even among the mountain fastnesses of New Hampshire, dared to breathe forth the deep throbbings of a soul all unspiced by the mildew of human servitude.

We think it time for every freeman of New Hampshire whose spirit is still uncured by the iron bit of Slavery, to tell the South in a voice worthy of our fathers, that when the slave power attempts to chain the free speech of the North, it is treading on forbidden ground.

A great effort has been, and still is making, to procure the rejection of Governor Morton, Collector at Boston, for the crime of having, while Governor of Massachusetts, signed resolutions of the Legislature against the Annexation of Texas. For this, one would think he might have atoned by his subsequent servility to the South. But it seems Southern Senators do not so easily forgive the crime of opposition to the "peculiar institution." The mark of Cain is upon him, and no after repentance can efface the brand. With Governor Morton's present position as a man, we have not much sympathy. Nor can we respect the crouching meanness with which he attempts to sustain himself, by denying his former opposition to Slavery. That citizen of New England who will either apologize for, or plead not guilty to such a charge, is a disgrace to his age and to the memory of his fathers. We have no respect for any Northern man, who, for the paltry consideration of an office, will bend and crouch before a power as fearfully hostile to the liberties of our country, as to the happiness of our race.

Had Governor Morton replied to the charges of abolition and opposition to Texas, as a Northern man should; had he, instead of denying and attempting to disprove the charge, boldly and fearlessly thrown himself upon the North; had he stood up like a man, and said to the South and to Southern Senators, "I am a Northern man, and a free man. What I have written or spoken against Slavery, I wrote and said as a Northern and a free man. In what I said, I but spoke the universal sentiment of the North. By that I am willing to stand or fall. You may, gentlemen, strike me down; but let me tell you, that the whole people of the North will also feel the blow—aye, and avenge it too."

Had he thus spoken, and thus acted, how infinitely would Governor Morton stand above his present pitiable position! With what enthusiasm might he have rallied the united Democracy of New England to his rescue! How proudly towered above his enemies, defying alike the slave power at the South, and its tools at the North! As it is, he may fall a sacrifice to his former character as a freeman; but his latter servility will permit no friend of liberty to avenge his death, or weep at his grave.

SLAVERY IN MARYLAND.—The slaveholders in Queen Anne's county, Md., recently held a meeting and passed a lot of resolutions including these:

Resolved, That the Legislature of this State be requested to pass a law prohibiting free negroes in this State, under heavy penalties, from leaving the State and returning again, except as servants to a white citizen.

Resolved, That in like manner they be requested to prohibit by law, under severe penalties, the assembling of negroes in public houses, especially at what are usually called "bush meetings."

UNPARALLELED CRUELTY TO A SLAVE.—We don't know when emotions of horror have been more excited in us than when we saw in a late paper the fact that the Legislature of Alabama had passed an act to emancipate Horatio King, a slave who had built an excellent bridge over the Wetumpka river. Poor King! Our heart bleeds for him! He felt that he had a soul above cotton picking, an intellect which enabled him to rise to an equality with the white race. He made the effort—succeeded, and for this he is condemned to perpetual freedom! Some one offered his master \$15,000 for him, with the intention no doubt of taking him to the slave's paradise—the "more congenial soil and climate" of Texas, but this happy lot was denied him! And now what shall he do? Shall he re-